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ABSTRACT

Current theory in community education holds that community education programs should move from a "program" orientation to a "process" orientation--process being defined vaguely as an open democratic structure. Three long-running community education projects in rural communities were studied for evidence of this phenomenon. Data were collected by interviewing first knowledgeable respondents and then interviewing people named by the knowledgeable people; a total of 114 interviews were conducted. Interviewees were asked about their relationship to community education, to others in the projects, names of those involved in the projects, effectiveness of the projects, organizational linkages of the project to other community agencies, and what works and what needs improvement in the community education program. Based on an analysis of this data, the researchers concluded that there is no evidence to support the notion that community education develops in a progressive manner from program to process. However, there was evidence to support the idea that as community education projects mature, they tend to develop an open bureaucratic process. The researchers suggest the community educators may have to be content with this open bureaucratic system rather than striving for the ideal of a democratic process system. (KC)

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Open Bureaucracy or Process?
An Empirical Investigation of Three Community Education Projects

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Research Report #81-106

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Preface

The dialogue concerning program vs process in community education first began in the early 1970's. Many voices were raised in that dialogue, but two may be singled out as providing a focal point for the issue. Jack Minzey teamed with Clyde LeTarte to write the prominent text, Community Education: From Program to Process (Minzey and LeTarte, 1974) and traveled widely speaking of community education as a process.

John Warden in 1979 published Process Perspectives: Community Education As Process (Warden, 1979). Warden's monograph shed a great deal of light on a process orientation of community education.

Other writers in the field of community education also placed extensive emphasis on "process." The problem that arose out of this dialogue of the 70's was two-fold. The first being that the term "process" generally referred to a democratic process, but was seldom specified in any more than general terms. The second, and perhaps most important, problem was that the "process" referred to by experts was not a strong visable component as community education was developing in the field.

Weaver in his 1972 National Study of Community Education Goals (Weaver, 1972) identified an "emerging model of community education." He contrasted the conventional model (school-based, closed system, program-oriented) with the emerging model (community-oriented, open-system, process-based). Weaver's theoretical model was based upon goals community educators reported as primary for community education. That was a big difference from what could generally be observed in practice.

Minzey, writing in the Community Education Journal, proposed that community education tends to develop on a continuum, moving from programmatic components to process components. About this progressive development he writes. . .

> ". . .school decision makers are more receptive to the first four (program) components of Community Education. In fact, in order to get beyond the fourth component (to process components), there is an extra effort and commitment necessary to move on to the total concept of Community Education. After Community Education has been introduced into a school district, there seems to be an almost immediate and automatic development of Community Education up to a point and then the growth slows down and in some cases terminates." (Minzey, 1974)

This theory of how community education develops moved the researchers to visit three sites where community education projects had been established with the purpose of examining what process existed in those communities. The sites selected for visitation were chosen on the basis of three criteria. The first being that they had to represent projects designated as successful by community education experts in the area. The second criteria was longevity. One project was selected from each of the three following categories:

Project Initiated Between January, 1979 and Jaunary, 1976

Project Initiated Between January, 1976 and Jaunary, 1974

Project Initiated Before January, 1974

The final criteria was that all sites had to be located in rural areas with no Standard Metropolitan Area (SMA) of 50,000 or more. This was done to control for differences which might be produced by the size of the communities served by the project.

Longevity of the project was used in selecting the sites in an effort to determine if there was any detectable pattern of development moving from program to process.

We are deeply indebted to the dedicated community educators who provided outstanding support in the collection of data for this study. We are also appreciative of the support given this study by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and the assistance provided by the Mid-Atlantic Center for Community Education at the University of Virginia.

I. Process, Priorities, and Practice: Theoretical Problems in Community Education

It should be noted at the outset of this report that the research reported herein is the result of a collaborative effort between a sociologist and a community educator. The results of this collaboration have been, the researchers believe, fruitful. While the effort originally began as an empirical assessment of several community education projects, it has extended, over the period of a year to a critical review of the theory of community education. It is important, before reporting the results of our joint research, to briefly summarize some of the conceptual problems encountered along the way.

It can be frustrating to impose sociological theory on a particular segment of a society. Most frequently, various agencies and groups view themselves as a unique area of society. The imposition of the notion that all groups follow some general rules of social organization takes away the "uniqueness" of the group or agency. Such is the case with community education. For almost a decade, community educators have argued for the development of a unique project in community process and decision making. From a sociological point of view, the ideas of Minzey (1974) and Minzey and LeTarte (1978) among others present several conceptual gaps that need refinement. We begin our report then by reviewing these conceptual problems. After reporting these findings, we shall return to these issues and attempt to provide a reconceptualization of the "process of community education."

As conceived by Minzey and LeTarte, community education is a system of linking the resources of the educational system to community process. This linkage accomplishes two major goals: (1) it locates the educational system at the center of community affairs, and (2) it provides a new forum for citizens of the community to participate in the recognition of and

solutions to various problems that confront the community. As a result, community education (according to Minzey and LeTarte) transcends the offering of specific programs and products to provide a process through which the determination, creation and execution of various programs that address the problems facing the community. The community education system goes beyond the mere processing of people to a unique blend of intellectual, emotional and social activity where the dynamics of local life are provided an ongoing arena.

The problem is that such a model is unrealistic. There are three major problems that can be identified with the concept of the process of community education:

(1) The generic concept, "process" is used by community educators in a fairly specific manner. Most writers in community education refer to a form of democratic participatory process. There are other, equally viable, forms of human discourse that could be labelled process. For example, bureaucratic processes are -- in industrial society -- among the most frequently used methods of human interaction. As we shall see, the attempt to capitalize on a very special form of process limits too severely the concept of community education. As we shall see, community education systems have evolved a dynamic, productive organization, albeit not the democratic process.

(2) Because the community educators are concerned with making the educational system available to the larger community, it would have been better perhaps if rather than focusing on the nature of the processes involved that they should have focused on the nature of

the system itself. Contemporary organizational theory has explored the concepts of open vs. closed cystems. Traditional education (K-12) operates at the local level as a closed system (Wood, 1979). Community education programs researched for this report, in fact, achieved the creation of an open educational system, even though it turns out to be as bureaucratic as the more closed K-12 program. By establishing democratic process as a criterion for success, community educators run the risk of losing an excellent project simply because of the labels applied to the programs. If the criterion of democratic process is used (however much it is desired), the community education systems studied are failures. If the criterion of success is an open viable system of programs for the community, then they are an unqualified success. Given the literature in community education, we believe it is the latter that leads to a reasonable level of expectation for community education programs even though the search for democratic process is laudable and desirable.

(3) Community education generally gains its resources from a well developed bureaucracy -- the local school system. Given the demands made on the school system from federal, state and local governments, it is unreasonable to expect that the school system will underwrite a program of participatory democracy. To do so would be to jeopardize the other, more bureaucratically organized components of the school system. The problems are both internal and external. Would a local city councilman object to funding a school program that offered special courses on evolution, Marxism, sex education or community power? The chances are high. Are superintendents made uncomfortable when controversial issues become

an integral part of the agenda of the community school advisory council? No answer is required to this question. In point of fact, to integrate the "process" of community education to the program of the local school system and its bureaucratic structure presents a problem to social engineering comparable to the creation by automobile engineers of an internal combustion engine that will drive a car 3000 miles on a gallon of gas.

Let us first say that the possibilities are exciting. The programs that we studied are dynamic open systems meeting many needs of their communities. The facts are supportive of the idea of community education, but in very different forms from the idealized models currently in vogue. What follows is a report on the research conducted on three community education programs and a tentative beginning to the rethinking of community education theory. We begin by exploring the concepts of process and system.

Process and Open Systems

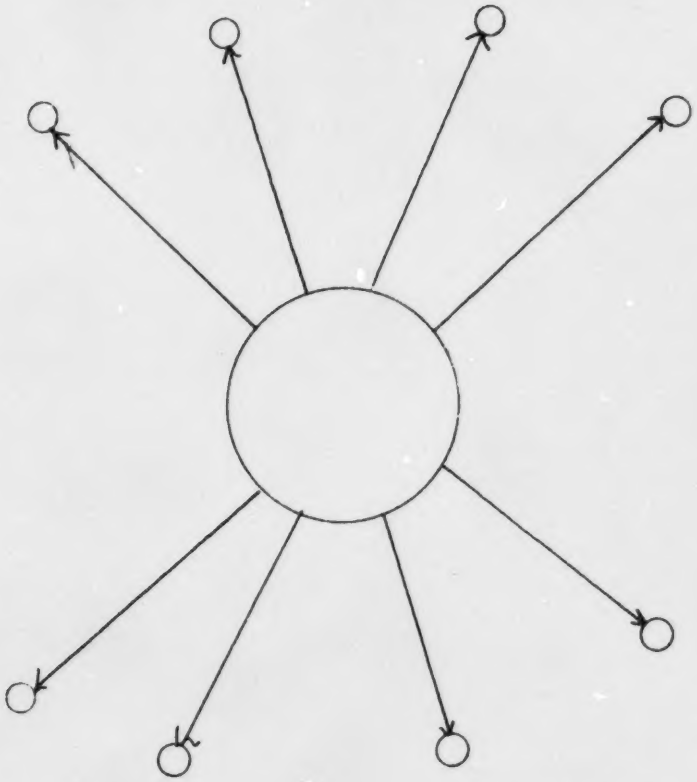
Community education literature employs the term process to describe the form community education should take. Although process is seldom precisely defined, and the use of it is vague at best a participatory democratic process is implied. Democratic process, characterized by a decentralization of authority and community/individual participation is only one of the many types of "processes" that can be employed.

Sociologists have identified many forms of organizational process. For parsimony only two basic types will be described here. Bureaucratic process, probably the most pervasive form of process in industrial society and democratic process, commonly referred to as the human relations model are the two dominant types of organizational (process) research.

Before determining whether a community education project is in a "process" or "program" (product) stage, it is helpful to identify whether the project is in an open or closed system. A closed project would appear as an independent agency, as a system of structures and functions, the project would appear as a structure in action over time, as a processing system, and as a structure of sub-groups. Distinguishable recreation, adult education, regular education, and community education departments would be coordinated by a central department. On the other hand an open project would appear as a cultural product, as an agent of exchange with its environment, and as an input-output subsystem (adapted from Champion, 1975: 29). Advisory councils identify community needs and the project delivers them. The determination of whether a system is open or closed is a reflection of the manner in which the system interacts with its environment, and the internal structural organization of the system that allows for adaptation to environmental change. Both participatory democracies and bureaucratic organizations can be either open or closed.

There can be projects that lack any process, unless process is defined as a centralized role/position doing everything. Figure 1 represents a sociogram of a hypothetical community education project. The large circle represents the highly centralized and powerful position of that role/position. The satellite roles are very small and insignificant in power.

Chart 1. Autocratically Controlled Community Education Project: Theoretical Model

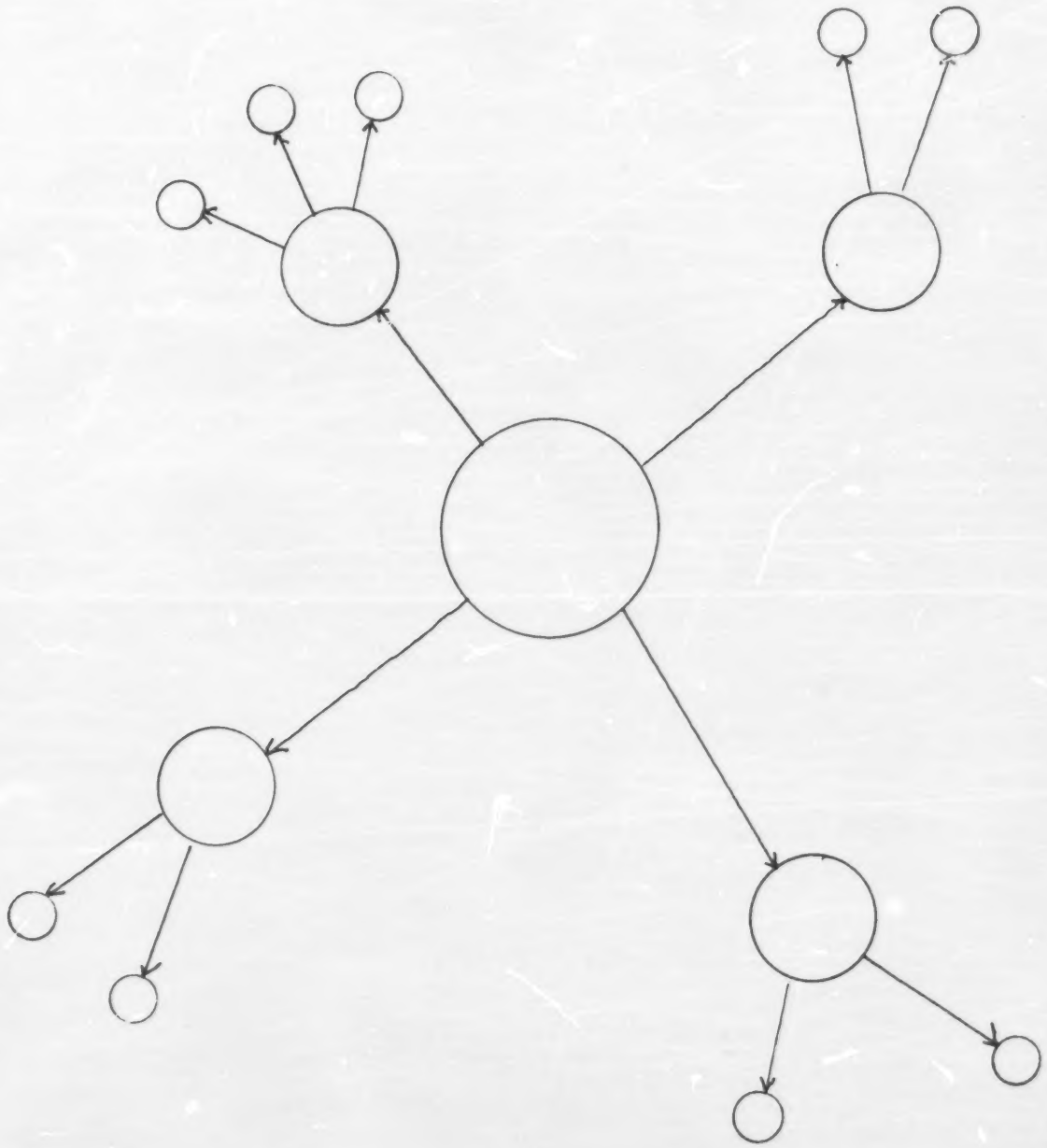


For the most part they would represent students and teachers. The lines of communication are not reciprocal. Thus, the director makes all decisions without regard of community/individual input even through subordinates, dictates them to the community education project without any form of evaluation other than his/her personal judgment. This authoritative organization is antithetical to a democratic process and to an open system. Equally important, it is not an open system.

Bureaucratic process, represented in Figure 2, if it is to work ideally, requires six conditions: (1) impersonal social relations; (2) appointment and promotion on basis of merit; (3) previously specified authority obligations which inherit in the position, not in the individual functioning in the positions; (4) a hierarchy of authority; (5) abstract rules or laws covering task assignments and decisions; (6) specialization of positions (Champion, 1975: 39). Under bureaucratic process, efficiency is the ultimate criteria for decisions (Blau and Meyer, 1971: 156). There is little dispute that bureaucratic process will get things done.

Bureaucratic process presents a hierarchy with a centralized role/position. Although the central role/position ultimately makes all decisions, there is input (reciprocal lines of communication) with the role/position just beneath. For example, a community education director passes a decision down to the principal, who in turn passes the decision to the community education coordinator, who directs instructors, and so on. The community education coordinator relates instructors reactions and evaluations to the principal who relates them to the community education director. There is a defined channel of communication that must be followed. The director is often inaccessible to subordinates other than those just beneath her/him. This does not mean, however, that information is not made available all up and down the line of authority.

Chart 2. Bureaucratic Community Education
Project: Theoretical Model

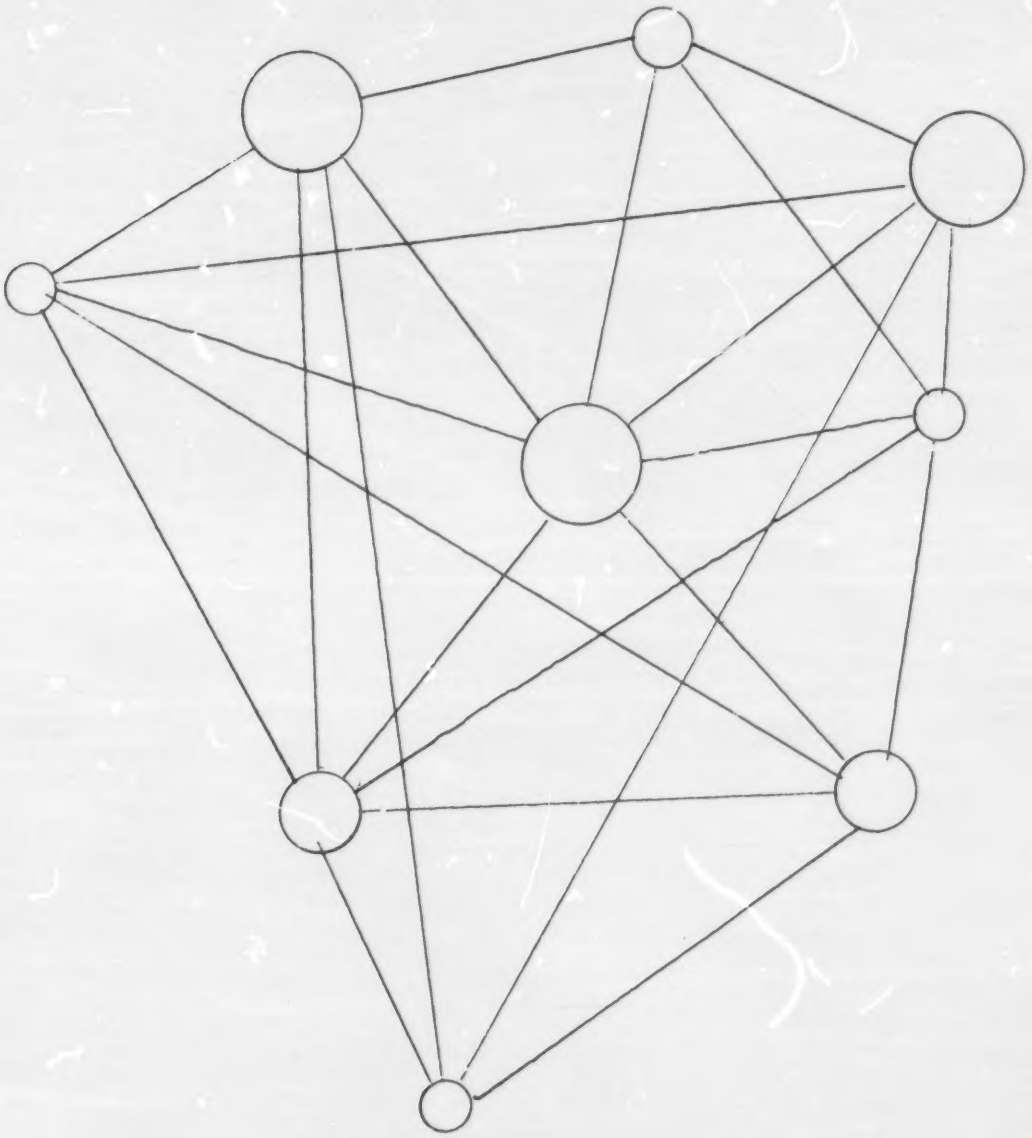


Democratic process, represented in Figure 3, has three basic characteristics. Mutual interest requires participation to be voluntary, and that although no two people have identical goals, their common ground or interest is in the organization, in this case the community education project. Next, individual differences must be allowed and in certain cases catered to. Last, and most difficult, is motivation. Individuals must be encouraged to work together. Production is a secondary consideration (classes and number of students) the process of meeting individual and collective needs are primary.

Organizationally, democratic process is decentralized, with a vast amount of input from the community/individual. Lines of communication are so that no position or person is not provided with at least an indirect line of communication with anyone else. Advisory council members would know as much about the project as its director and be in communication with the same people as the director. No position or person would be denied information because no organizational structure would prevent it from occuring. In this way a person can have a voice in the community education project and the project can become a mechanism for airing and correcting community problems.

By constructing sociograms and comparing them with the ideal type sociograms (Figures 1, 2, and 3), it is relatively easy to determine whether a project is in a program (product) stage or a process stage. Next is whether or not a bureaucratic process or a democratic process is desired. The decision for this can not be determined empirically, only politically.

Chart 3. Democratic Process Community Education Project: Theoretical Model



There are drawbacks to both forms of process. In bureaucratic process all officials are appointed based on merit, rather than elected. Goals of the bureaucracy are often supplanted for others. For example, departmental activities (recreation department) in time may be directed to perpetuating the department rather than working for the whole. Bureaucratic process, though high in productive efficiency, can generate low innovative capacity. Also, bureaucratic processes, though not antithetical is certainly antagonistic to democratic process because "neither the will of the majority not the personal choice of a rule or a ruling clique reigns supreme, but the rational judgment of experts does" (Blau and Meyer, 1971: 156). Rather than the community running the education project, the experts dictate what the education project, thus indirectly the community will do.

The human relations model or democratic process only seems to work in those kinds of projects requiring a high-degree of social skills and communication abilities. It would seem conducive to the community education project. However, for a democratic process to work there must be freedom of dissent which leads to factionalism. Because of this a majority may consist of only 20% of the people and thus the needs of the entire community may be fully met (Blau and Meyer, 1971: 157). The result of this would be a standoff due to an ideological difference. Under bureaucratic process, this would not occur.

A final comment on relative use of bureaucratic process over democratic process is that democratic processes are particulary tenuous in projects which demand the double purpose of deciding on common objectives and of implementing decisions (Blau and Meyer, 1971: 157). Mixing the two processes, which seems to be what has in effect occurred (witness sociograms) results in a contradiction. Advisory positions or councils can not

force others to seek advice or to take it (Davis, 1967: 175). The expert (community education director) does not have to take the advisory council's advice. In many respects the expert may not even consult the advisory council.

The decision whether to use bureaucratic process or democratic process is again a political one. However, a caution is that in those already existing bureaucratic process projects, there will be resistance to a move to democratic process because bureaucracies hesitate to give up authority to others (Davis, 1967: 188).

However, the more open the bureaucracy becomes the more the functions of both bureaucratic and democratic processes can be realized. A responsive bureaucracy -- one willing to listen to the broadest part of a population or to deal with a general environment -- can efficiently offer programs and at the same time permit input from a general populace. A bureaucracy intended to serve a wide variety of needs may be difficult to operate, but it can indeed perform. In fact, we shall show that as community education projects develop they create not participatory democratic process, but, in fact, they generate an open bureaucratic system that actually works!

II. The Study

There are three major goals to the present study: (1) There is the need to observe, as objectively as possible, the operation of several community education projects. The procedure employed to meet this goal was the establishment of a cross-disciplinary team involving a sociologist and a community education specialist. In the development of the methodology employed in data collection and analysis, the sociologist was concerned with developing a critical stance toward community education. The community educator was concerned that the sociologist be aware of all aspects of community education programs.

(2) Another major goal of the study was an attempt to observe degree to which the projects studied had achieved a level of "community process." At the outset of data collection, the team decided to use the orientation to Minzey and LeTarte as the basic hypothesis underlying the various projects. That is, the team expected to find the development of a process orientation in the projects. For this reason, it was decided to study three community education projects of different ages. The three projects selected were all located in rural county school systems. The youngest project had been in existence for 2 years, the middle one for 6 years and the oldest for eleven years. It was hypothesized by the researchers that, as older systems were researched, the "process orientation" would become more easily observable.

(3) The final goal of the research was to develop a method of rapid, reconnaisance techniques for the study of community education programs using the work of Sanders (1961), Nix (1966) and Nix and Dudley (1965, 1967), the community social analysis method was adopted as a basic research tool.

Community social analysis involved the discovery of "key informants." These people are interviewed and in addition to responding to questions concerning the operation of the community education project, are asked to identify others who are involved or knowledgeable about specialized parts of the project. The list of informants grows as the interviewing proceeds. Once the responses become repetitive, the interviewing ceases. This form of data collection was employed in the present study.

Thus our goals were to get an objective view of three community education projects and to develop a method of research that would allow an accurate assessment of the operation of various projects. With these goals in mind, the actual development of the research program began. Following is a more detailed discussion of each aspect of the data collection process.

1. Site Selection

Our purpose was not to evaluate the community education project in terms of its success or failure, but rather to observe how such a project might work. To this end, it was decided that an attempt would be made to select for study three community education projects of different ages that had the reputation for being excellent programs. The community educator, taking into account such questions as size of program, accessability, and program success selected three projects. Project A was the newest (2 years old) and the smallest project. It is located in rural West Virginia. Project B is the largest and has been in existence for six years. It is located in South Carolina. Project C is the oldest (11 years) and is about the same size as Project B. It is located in North Carolina. Of the three projects, only C has changed project directors. All three projects have strong support from the local school districts and are currently serving significant

proportions of the population of their areas. At a later point, a more detailed description of each project will be given.

2. Instrumentation and Sample

The data collection was done by interviewing first knowledgeable respondents and then interviewing people named by the knowledgeable people. Thus, there is no sampling, as such, but rather "key informants." Because of the different sizes and structures of the different projects, different number of interviews were obtained. Project A, a small project in a small county school system required only 23 interviews before the list of knowledgeable informants were exhausted. Project B, having the largest school district, the largest population to serve and the largest land mass, and the most complicated structure, required 62 interviews. Project C, while large in terms of students enrolled, served a smaller population and has the least complicated structure (age has its benefits). It required only 29 interviews.

The interview schedule can be found in Appendix A. Basically, it concerns the following areas:

1. Subject's relationship to community education.
2. Subject's relationship to others in the community education project.
3. The names of those involved in community education.
4. The operational effectiveness of the project.
5. The organizational linkages of the project to other community agencies.
6. What words and what needs improvement in the community education program.

The same interview schedule was used for all respondents.

Both the community educator and the sociologist participated in the data collection. In some cases, several people were interviewed at once. When this occurred, the respondents were asked to complete the schedule as a questionnaire in order to avoid one respondents answers affecting the others. In these situations the researchers were present to answer questions and to probe on certain answers. Most respondents were, however, interviewed privately and no differences exist in the answers of those interviewed as compared to those who completed the schedule themselves.

Basically, then, data was collected from a number of informants in three community education projects. The data consisted of interviews concerning six major aspects of community education. Once the data was in hand a graduate student was added to the project staff to assist in the analysis. The following section reports the major findings of the project.

III. The Findings

Reports of the findings for each community education project are to be found in Appendix B. The concern of this section will be the analysis of data from the three projects combined and in some cases contrasted. What was not found can be clearly stated:

> In none of the projects studied as part of this research could evidence be found that suggests that community education has moved from "program to process" in the local community. In no project studied could evidence be found to support the concept of empowerment or democratic process. (Process is used here in the general sense of participatory democratic as oprosed to bureaucratic.)

What was found can be equally stated:

> As the age of the project increased, the community education system moved from the single-control of one director, to an incipient bureaucracy to a well developed bureaucratic organization with open relations to the larger community.

The evidence for such results comes from these major questions on the interview schedule. Question number 6 (see Appendix A) asks the respondent to list the people that the respondent works with most frequently in the community education program. Charts 5, 6 and 7 show the reciprocal relations from the three community education projects. Chart 5 is for the community education project that has been underway for only two years. Every single respondent named the community education director (32). Only six other people received more than two mentions. There are only three reciprocal relations (where the respondents named each other) between the people named and the director and only one reciprocal relation between the people named. Lest one become confused this is a surprisingly well developed program for its age. It involved four school buildings and offers a wide range of

Chart 5. Observed Structure of Youngest
Community Education Project

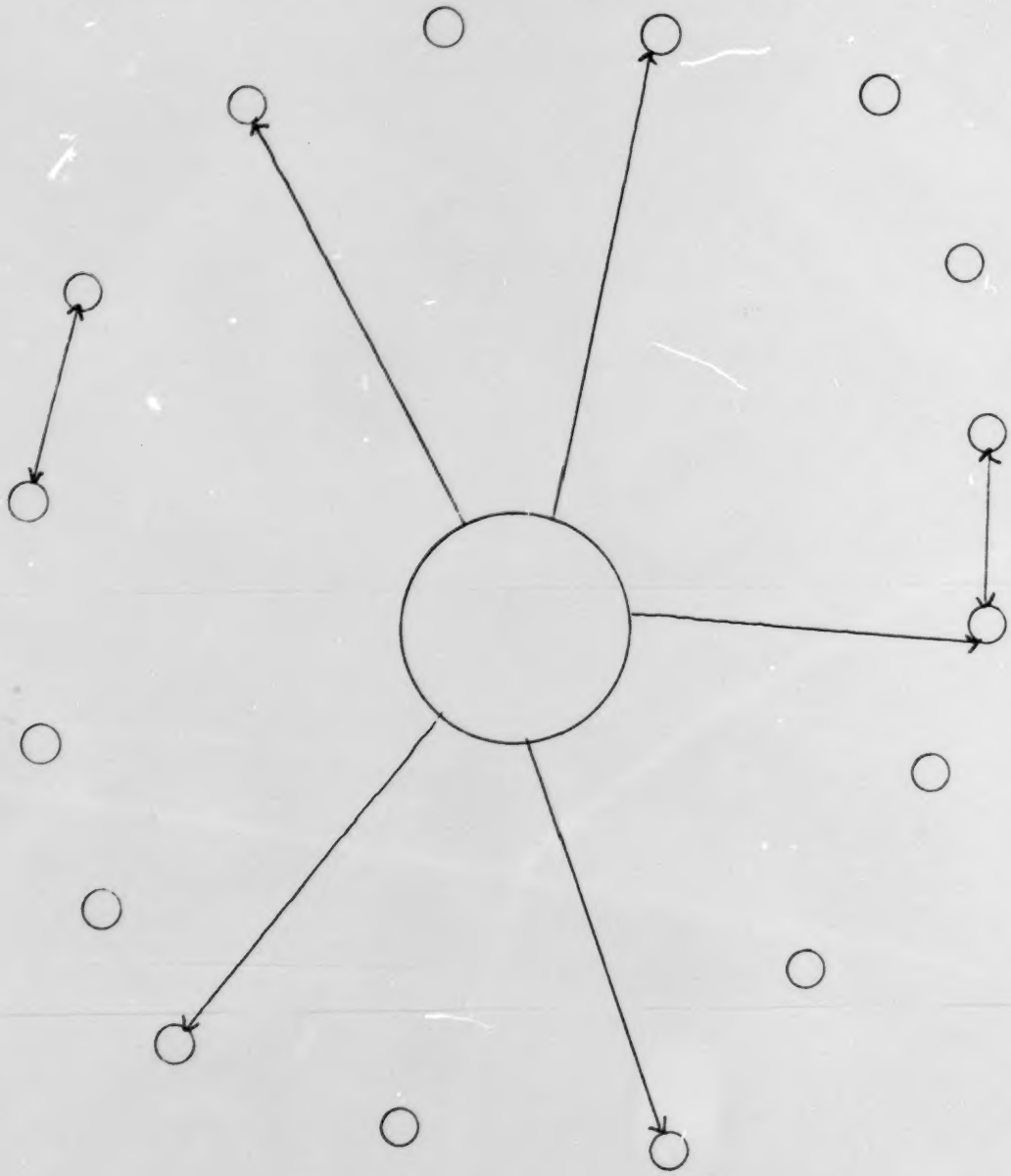


Chart 6. Observed Structure of Second
Community Education Project

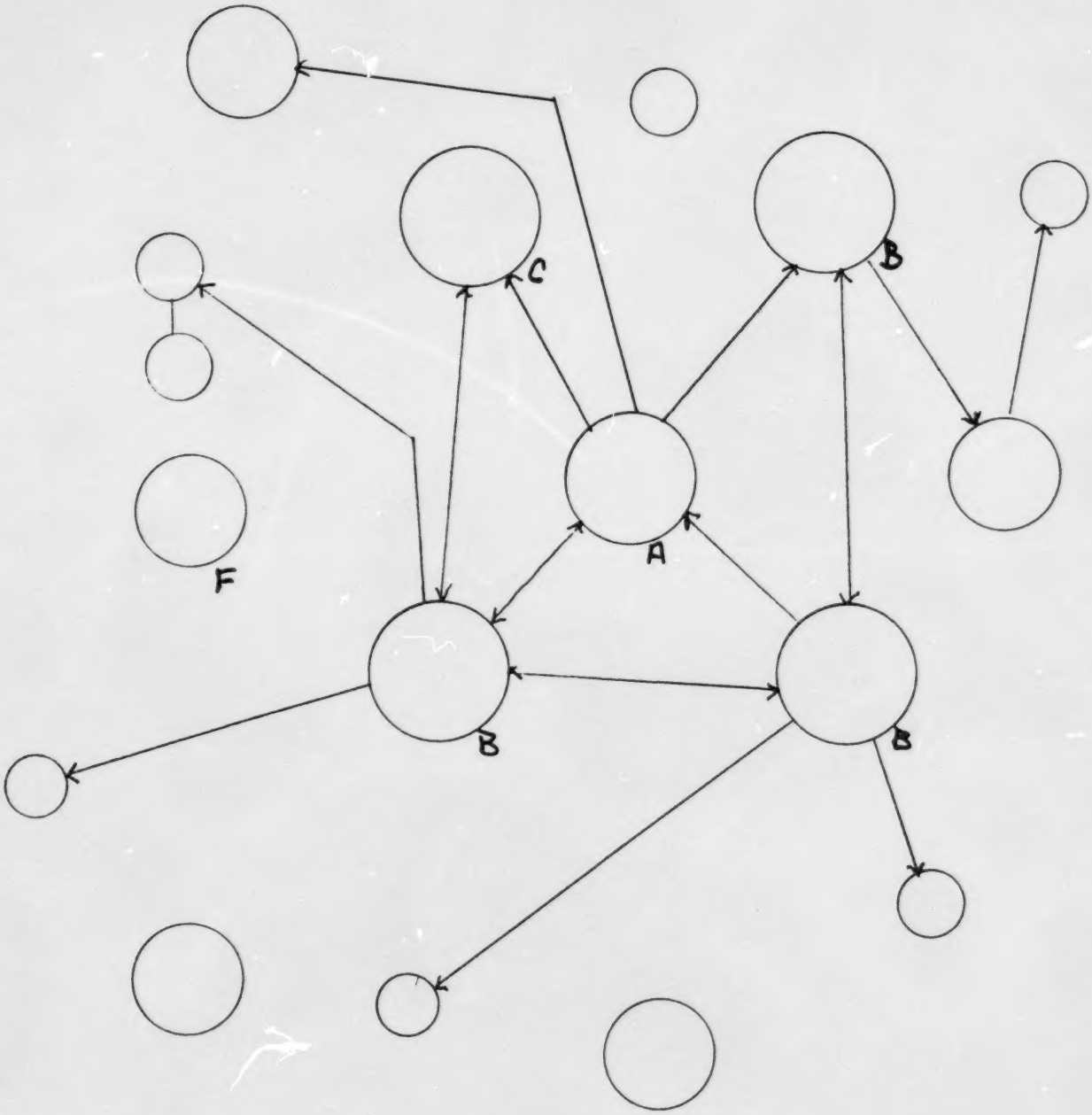
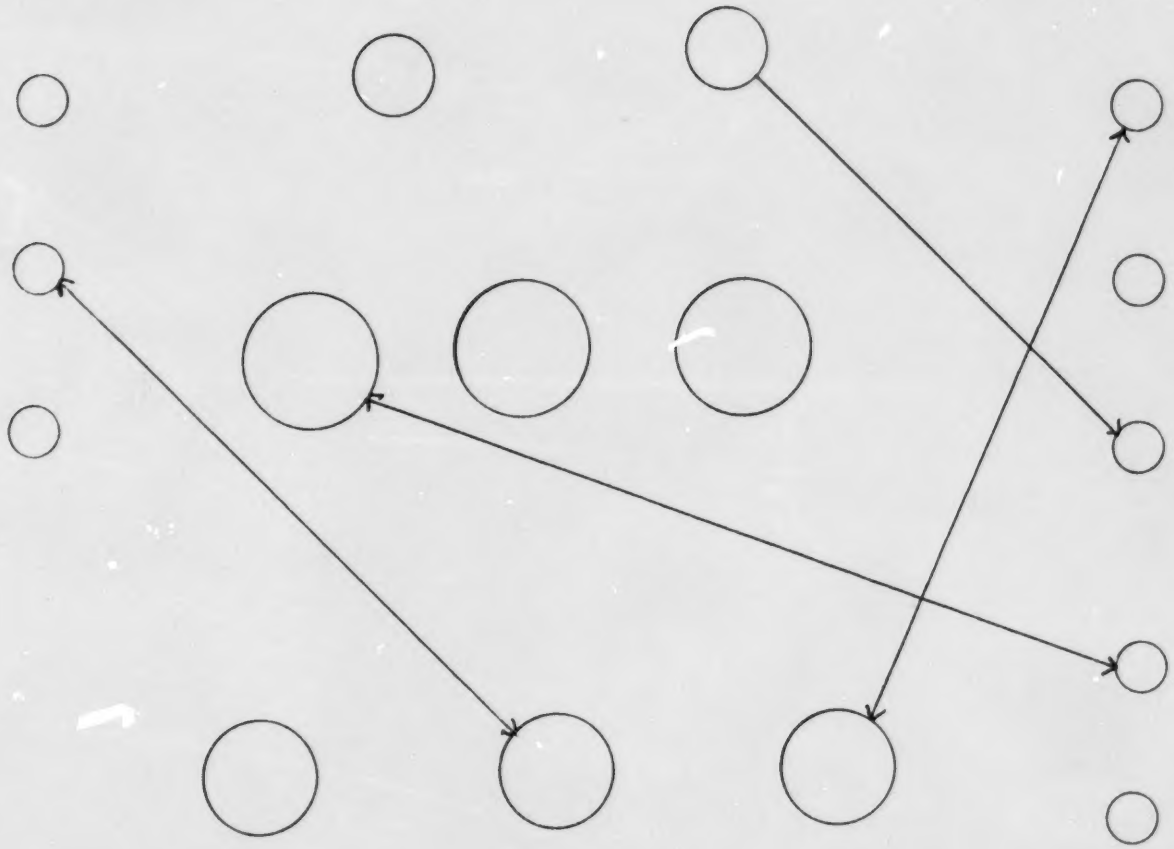


Chart 7. Observed Structure of Oldest
Community Education Project



activities for all ages. The student and teacher respondents were enthusiastic and generally excited about the future of community education. The principal and superintendent of schools are equally positive about the project. The simple fact is, this is what a beginning program looks like after two years.

Chart 6 shows the structure and reciprocal relations for the second project (Project B). It is six years old. This project covers the largest land area and has the largest population to serve. For this reason we conducted almost twice as many interviews in this system as the other two. Given that there were 62 interviews, it is interesting to note that no person is named over 60% of the time. Also note that most reciprocal relations occur among the director of the community education project (A), three coordinators (B) and the assistant director (C). The centrality of the coordinator is also indicated by the fact that they are named 15 times as a unit (F). It is this central group that form the bureaucratic core of this project. Reciprocal relations -- indicative of a democratic structure -- occur only 8 times outside this central group.

Chart 7 shows the structure and reciprocal relationships of the oldest, most developed system. As can be seen, only two reciprocal relations exist: clear indication of a bureaucratic form. These recriprocal relations are between the director of community education and the president of a community college and between a coordinator and a member of the school system administrative staff. The community education program in this local area has become an integrated part of community structure, but it is within a bureaucratic organization. Each school involved in the program has a community education coodinator that is in charge of the programs for that school. These coordinators are responsible for the development of the program for that school. At the level of the director of community education, linkages to the community college and other agencies are developed.

We have noted that the charts show only a few reciprocal relationships A word about why this indicates a bureaucratic organization is important. In the participatory democratic model of community education, one would expect to find a number of people naming each other as co-workers. In a bureaucratic organization, respondents tend to name people "in line"; that is to say, people who work for them or who are above them in an organization hierarchy. Careful examination of Charts 5, 6, and 7 reveal that the only significant reciprocal relations occur between members of the administrative staff of the community education program. Otherwise, people when asked to name the people that they work with are not likely to be named by the people they name. This is clear evidence of a bureaucratic structure rather than a democratic process.

This is not to say, however, that these community education programs are all structure. In fact, as the community education system develops, the opening up of relations between the community education effort and other agencies in the local community occurs. The best examples of this open bureaucratic process is the relationship between a community college and the community education program in the oldest of the projects studied. Acoording to both the president of the college and the director of community education, there is an open flow of expertise and material between the two units. As an administrator for the college commented: "Hell, if they (community education) need welding equipment and we have it, they have it too."

Our general observations then reveal two things: (1) democratic process, a distribution of power to a broader segment of the population does not occur, and, (2) an open system of relationships between the community education project and other agencies in the community does develop over time. Even though the system becomes a centralized bureaucratic system, with the professional community educators "running the show," the integration of community education programs into the life of the local community occurs through the opening up of the school system and the improvement of relations with other community agencies.

A note on the advisory councils is important here. While the method of our research did not allow for a detailed examination of the operation of the advisory councils, we did determine that, in the operation of the community education project, the roles played by the various councils were minimal at best, and in some cases in all three systems nonexistant. This is reflected by the few times the councils are named and the few times that members of the councils are names as important to community education (question 15, see Appendix A). Further, members of the council are only infrequently named in question 6 ("Who do you work with in the project?"). Finally, in interviews with both directors and council members, it was frequently noted that the councils were not active and that "work in developing the role of the advisory councils is needed." One council president noted that the council had not met in over a year, and one council had never met. Clearly, then, the development of the advisory council has not been a priority in the community education projects included in this study.

A further note on our findings concerning bureaucratic process; participatory, democratic model is very people oriented, as Minzey and LeTarte (1979) have noted. Because such a program is reflected by a large number of reciprocal relations (see Chart 3), the retirement of one person from the system could be devastating. One of the major advantages of bureaucracy is that dependence of the system on any one person is minimized. Only one of the projects studied would be jeopardized by the loss of the director (see Chart 5). Both projects over the age of 5 years old are so structured that the loss of any individual would generate only the most minimal difficulty for community education.

While our primary interest in this research project was the attempt to observe the program or process orientation of these community education projects, the data collection produced other observations that are of interest. Some of these findings are presented in summary form below.

(1) People who participate in community education programs came from a wide variety of occupational backgrounds. Our study found people from over 50 different occupations among students and instructors. Some occupations represented are musician, photographer, swine farmer, public health educator, retired people, housewives, logging truck driver, welder, politician, real estate salesman, county administrator, etc. In addition, the involvement of a large number of other school personnel was found to come from all levels of the school organization.

(2) While community education is relatively inexpensive in terms of dollars, it uses a considerable amount of time on the part of participants (teachers, and students) as well as administrators and advisory councils. For both preparation and participation (questions 7 and 8, see Appendix A) the average time spent per week is 8.7 hours. That is to say that the participants spend slightly more than one work day per week in community education activities.

(3) We asked a series of questions concerning the most popular course, the most useful course to individuals, and the most useful course to the community. While there was significant agreement on popularity and individual usefulness (mostly arts and crafts, general education, and exercise classes), the courses most useful to the community usually identified such things as emergency medical training and adult education programs in general.

(4) Almost all the respondents agreed that community education had a positive impact on the local school system. Thirty percent (30%) saw its importance as the increased involvement of citizens in the schools. Other positive aspects included good public relations for the school, helping people adapt to new life situations and helping influence children by their observation of their parents attending school. Many (20%) saw it creating a positive image for the school system.

(5) Finally we asked people to respond to what part of the community education program worked best and what needed improvement. Concerning what worked best, most people listed a particular class -- a program orientation. Community educators saw the project in broader terms and talked of openness and process skills. Other school administrators to a more programmatic point of view citing the many classes and students in the projects.

Concerning what needed improvement, most respondents did not answer the question, indicating a general agreement with the management and performance of the project. What was interesting is that few people mentioned the need for more involvement of the advisory councils, including the members of the councils.

In summary, then, we find:

(1) active community education projects,

(2) a generally bureaucratic organization,

(3) that the bureaucracy becomes more open as it ages,

(4) low involvement of the advisory council,

(5) wide community participation,

(6) considerable expenditure of time on the part of participants,

(7) courses that are both popular and useful to individuals and the community, and

(8) that community education has a positive effect on the local schools.

We turn now to some comments concerning an interpretation of these results.

Conclusion

Based upon the data collected in the three community education projects included in this study the researchers conclude that there is no evidence to support the notion that community education develops in a progressive manner from a stage emphasizing programming to one characterized by democratic process. There was, however, found evidence to support the idea that as community education projects mature they tend to develop an open bureaucratic process.

In the open bureaucratic process the researchers observed a system which was developed to meet community needs by providing programs and services. These community education projects, which were all sponsored by public schools, were visable signs of the movement of the traditionally closed bureaucratic system of the schools toward a more open system.

Examples of the movement toward a more open bureaucratic system were seen in several ways including: the breadth of courses and services offered by the community education project, the increased level of inter-agency cooperation found as the project ages, and finally in the manner in which the community education program becomes an integrated part of the local community. Further evidence for its "open" nature is offered by the wide variety of people involved in the program. People of all ages, occupational backgrounds, religious and ethnic groups are integral to all three projects.

The role of citizens in an idealized community education model has been described as one where citizen involvement in decision making and community problem-solving is a prescribed component (Minzey, 1974). In the three projects studied there were few, if any, indications that citizens from the community were playing any significant role in the management of

those programs beyond providing input to the staff on the need for certain programs and services. Decision making and problem solving was for the most part left to the community education staff.

In each of the community education projects when people were asked what changes they would recommend, only eight (8) or 7% of those interviewed made any significant suggested changes in the area of democratic process. The remainder of the suggestions made dealt with programs, services and structure. This factor leads the researchers to conclude that citizens in each of those three communities were relatively comfortable with their present level of participation. From this point rises the question, "Is democratic process in community education a goal held by community education theorist and practitioners, but not one shared by the general citizenry?" It would appear that further research is needed to ascertain what expectations citizens hold for their role in community education.

As pointed out earlier in this report it is unrealistic to expect that a bureaucracy, such as the public schools, can foster the development of a democratic process in which citizens are empowered to act on their own accord. While the principles espoused in advocating a democratic process are worthy, they are inconsistent with the existing parameters of our society and the institutions which serve us.

All of this is not to indicate that the product of community education is bad. Indeed, the opening of a bureaucratic system to more effectively accommodate the needs of the community is a major accomplishment. The researchers recommend that future efforts in community education be directed at further opening the systems in which they exist. Those efforts would include (1) increasing the dialogue between the citizenry and the

institutions which serve them, (2) increasing the interaction between institutions within the system, and (3) developing programs which serve a broad base of the population.

In addition, the researchers recommend the development of the community educator's role as one who is actively involved in:

(1) assisting the citizenry in determining needs,

(2) gathering information about existing resources,

(3) linking citizens in need of services with appropriate programs, and

(4) helping citizens to assess the impact of programs on their environment.

It is felt that this role for the community educator will relieve some pressures and anxieties currently incumbant with the unrealistic expectation of being able to institute a democratic process within a bureaucracy which has no real desire to see that process develop. In other words, the role of the community educator becomes one of high activity, a viable community resource.

As a point in fact the emphasis on democratic process as a major element of community education may be providing a significant stumbling block to the progress of the community education movement. This block occurs when decision makers within the system (i.e., superintendents, principals, agency heads, etc.) are threatened by the notion of empowering citizens to assist in decision making or even become involved in controversial issues.

By adopting the goal of developing an open bureaucracy, community education can accomplish a great deal in terms of improving the quality of services and life in any community. This is not to mean that the goal of a self-actualized community with a highly developed democratic process is not

a creditable goal. As creditable as it is, community educators need to be content with making changes within the system which are designed to open up the bureaucratic process, rather than struggle to achieve the unattainable goal of a purely participatory democracy.

Recommendations for Future Study

The following areas of needed future research have developed as a result of this study.

(1) Further studies should be conducted to determine whether community education, in fact, tends to open up a bureaucratic process or if institutions initiating community education already are characterized by an open bureaucratic process.

(2) Studies need to be conducted on the effect that community education has on creating an open bureaucratic process in institutions and community agencies other than the public schools.

(3) Since the scope of this investigation was limited to rural settings further study of urban areas is needed to see if the same conditions exist.

(4) Community education should be encouraged to search for appropriate research methodology drawn from other fields of study.

(5) Further studies are needed to explore in greater depth the bureaucracy of the school system (and other community service agencies) and how the community educator's role relates to that bureaucracy.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Community Education Survey

Community _____
Name of Respondent _____
Sex _____

1. What role do you fill in the community education project? _____

_____

2. Number of years associated with this community education project?

_____

3. Have you ever been associated with a community education program before?

_____ Yes _____ No

If so, where? _____

when? _____ years

4. What are your specific duties in the community education program? List several specific things that you do (student, advisory, council, etc.).

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____.

5. Is your work in community education your primary occupation?

_____ Yes _____ No

If not, what is your occupation? _____

_____

6. Who are the people that you work with most frequently in the community education program?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. How much time per week do you spend in preparation for your community education activities?

_____ hours

8. How much time do you spend in participation in community education activities?

_____ hours

9. What programs in the community education project in this community are most popular?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

10. Which programs are most useful to the individual people in the community?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. Which programs are most useful to the community?

12. Do you feel that community education has had an impact on your school?

_____ Positive or _____ Negative

13. Is there any relationship between the community education advising councils and other decision-making groups such as the school board or county government?

_____ Yes _____ No

If yes, which agencies?

14. Are there areas of conflict between services offered by the community education program and other agencies (recreational, health, etc.) in the community? If so, list the agency and the program.

Agency	Community Education Program
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

15. Who are the people who have the most to do with the operation of the community education program?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. How often do you meet with the coordinator/director of the community education program?

_____ daily

_____ several times a week

_____ weekly

_____ several times a month

_____ monthly

_____ less than once a month

_____ never

17. How often do you work with other people in the community education program? Specify with whom you work (say class, if class).

	Names
_____ daily	_____
_____ several times a week	_____
_____ weekly	_____
_____ several times a month	_____
_____ monthly	_____
_____ less than a month	_____

18. What area of the community education program works the best?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

19. What areas of the community education program need improvement?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B

Site A

I. General Description

Site A is a small community education program in a rural county with a small population. The project county is in an extremely mountainous area. Travel is difficult any time of the year, with a travel time of at least 30 minutes between the few small towns in the county. It is a typical Appalachain rural county.

The community education project has only one staff member who is under the adult education director in the school system organizational chart. The director is in charge of all programs. The project includes classes in arts and crafts, emergency medical training and various sports activities.

II. Structure of the Program

There is only one advisory council for the project, and its members are scattered over a wide area. The council acts as advisory to the director, but on an individual basis. It does not behave as an active group of directors. The director relates to the adult education director, the principals of several elementary schools and the high school, and the superintendents as the "core group" of advisors. The project is viewed as a regular part of the school system. Five elementary schools and one high school are part of the project.

III. Open Structure

While this project has not developed the openness of the other projects studied - note the major advisors to the director are school personnel - there are clear signs that it is becomming more responsive to the larger community. Ties have been established with the extension agent's office. Students come from all geographic and social areas of the county and there are a wide range of courses. Emergency medical training and a crafts fair are its most popular programs.

IV. Relationships

The pre-bureaucratic nature of the project is emphasized by the lack of reciprocal relations among the people involved. It is pre-bureaucratic because, as can be seen in chart 5 of the main report, the director is the center of the project. There are no offices, no division of labor, no staff. The director is reciprocally related to a number of discrete people.

V. Programs

This is a new system. It is making clear inroads in community involvement by offering widely popular programs. The emergency medical training, dance, and arts and crafts classes are the most popular. The project has not been in place long enough for the working relations between adult education and community education.

The developmental stage of this project is too unclear to perceive a clear direction for the future.

VI. How the Program is Seen by the Community

The project is seen by the community has having great potential. The use of the schools, the types of classes and activities are positively viewed by community members. The project is too new to receive negative criticism. None was given. Perhaps the best summary statement is provided by a respondent who said, "If it keeps growing the way it is, they'll have to add to the school building."

VII. Researcher's Over-All Evaluation

This is the most difficult evaluation to make of the three projects because it is the youngest. After two full years of operation, there are programs and activities in five schools and there is broad participation in the program. The director's major goal now is to establish a group of people to help in the administration of the project. The advisory council has not coalesced as a group, but each member acts as an advisor to the director. As a young program, this project is off to an excellent start.

SITE B

I. General Description

Site B is a large community education project located in a very large rural country. There are significant differences in the various geographic and social regions of the country. One part of the county is a resort area. The rest of the county is a typical southern county. The community education project consists of a senior coordinator, an assistant coordinator and three directors. Each director is in charge of a region of the county. The coordinator is a member of the Superintendent's staff.

The project runs in excess of 120 classes, with an enrollment of over 12,000 students. In the resort area, the classes tend to be arts and crafts, in the rural areas, trade classes and general education classes are popular.

II. Structure of the Program

Each director has an advisory council. In no case did the advisory council or its members form the "core group" involved in the direction of the community education program. The staff of the project (coordinators and directors) are clearly in charge from both the public's and superintendent's point of view. The school system measures the success of the project in terms of the number and variety of programs. The same is true of the community education staff and the instructors and students. The advisory councils meet only irregularly (one had not met in over a year). Planning and coordination are both a function of the staff. Each director had programs in four to five schools.

III. Open Structure

This is perhaps the most open of all projects studied. Instructors and students range from people with a high school degree to people with graduate degrees. Programs range across a number of topics: bread making, art, music, clerical training, judo, automobile repair, welding, and general education. No program emerges as the most popular because of the wide diversity of the student population. The project is committed to meeting any needs identified. It is a perfect example of an open bureaucracy - a strong response to any need.

IV. Relationships

The bureaucratic nature of the project is emphasized by the lack of reciprocal relations among people involved. The staff is named often, but among others are named only once or twice. This indicates a strong central authority meeting a wide variety of needs. (See Chart 6 in the main body of the report.)

V. Programs

A clear indication of the openness of the system is that no program is clearly the most popular or the most useful to individuals or the community. As different people were interviewed, different pro-

grams were named. The only differences in choice of popular or important programs were in the resort versus the rural areas of the county. The resort area programs were more "intellectually" directed - reading groups, arts and crafts - while the rural area programs were generally more practical skill oriented. The personalities of the directors, by the way, seemed to reflect these differences.

VI. How the Program is Seen by the Community

In general and in specific, the project received positive feedback from the community. While most respondents viewed the project from their particular location in it, they were aware of the county-wide project. The only complaint dealt with the absence of particular programs, a lack of administrative response and remarks about the behavior of some of the students. Positively, respondents saw the programs as a viable part of community life, filling an important void. Most respondents felt the project would grow.

VII. Researcher's Overall Evaluation

Site B is by far the most visably active program studied. It receives very high marks in the knowledge that the participants have about community education. The directors are capable of generating classes to fit the needs of the various segments of the county's population. Relationships to the school system, to other agencies, and to the local schools are excellent. The staff is large enough to relate well to adult education, remedial reading programs and to special education programs. The community education program at site B is well integrated into both the school system and the community. It is a bridge across which many good things happen for both.

Site C

I. General Description

Site C is a rural county in the Piedmont region of a Southern state. The program is twelve years old. This project is the only one to have been in existence prior to the development of the "process" concept. It is dominated by a fairly large town with a community college.

The project has a director and four area coordinators in four schools. Each coordinator has an advisory council. The coordinators act as "night principals" in the schools. The advisory councils meet regularly and seem to represent the population of the area served by the school. As in the project in Site B, the programs are varied with a large student enrollment.

II. Structure of the Program

As noted there are five advisory councils, five coordinators and a director in this project. The councils act as advisory, but not as policy setting groups. By in large, they act as sounding boards to solve fairly technical problems. The coordinators each are in charge of the program in a single school (they are sometimes called "night principals"). The director serves all five schools and serves as the liason between the project, the school superintendent, the community college and various community agencies.

III. Open Structure

This project has developed in over 10 years as the most effectively open of the three, particularly at the upper level. The advisory councils are active in the technical divisions of the program in each school, but most important is the linkage to the community college. The President of the college sees the project as part of the college's mission and offers it the college's full support. The flow of talent and material is excellent between the project and the college.

IV. Relationships

The project is a bureaucratic structure, but an open one as evidenced by the reciprocal links between the director of the project and the college president. Despite several important reciprocal linkages, most relationships between participants are unilateral. A clear sign that this program is bureaucratic.

V. Programs

This is the oldest of the three projects studied. It, therefore, has the most settled set of programs offered. Arts, crafts, sports and general education classes have been developed and have been offered continuously for a number of years. Vocational courses are offered as requested. Constant program enhancement is part of the coordinators' main efforts.

VI. How the Program is Seen by the Community

In the other two projects studied, there was a sense of excitement and growth concerning community education. In this program, there is more a sense of satisfied achievement on the part of the participants. An excellent program is in operation and they know it. While the expectation is that the program will be innovative, the largest number of participants see it as an integral part of community life. Its programs are normal expectations, not major challenges to be met. In short, this is viewed as a mature project.

VII. Researcher's Over-All Evaluation

If all community education projects were as healthy as this one after a decade of operation, the concept of community education would be a overwhelming success. The importance of a bureaucratic structure is best emphasized by this project. While it is staffed by active and competent professionals, the programs could survive on their own.